

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 06853 240306Z

70

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-15

ACDA-19 EUR-25 OMB-01 NIC-01 RSR-01 /141 W

----- 038585

R 230946Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 595

INFO AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMCONSUL KARACHI

AMCONSUL LAHORE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ISLAMABAD 6853

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, PK, AF, US

SUBJ: PAKISTAN-AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS

REF: STATE 164400, KABUL 6176, ISLAMABAD 6543 AND 6655

SUMMARY: RECENT DAUD STATEMENTS ON PUSHTUNISTAN HOLD
POTENTIAL FOR SERIOUS NEW INSTABILITY IN SOUTH ASIAN
REGION. END SUMMARY.

1. THIS EMBASSY SHARES DEPARTMENT'S DISQUIET OVER
PRESIDENT DAUD'S STATEMENTS TO SENATOR PERCY REGARD-
ING PUSHTUNISTAN AND OVER GOA REACTION TO ARRESTS
OF BALUCH LEADERS. DAUD COMMENTS THAT (A) AFGHANISTAN
RETAINS RIGHT OF ANNEXATION OF FRONTIER AREAS IN
PAKISTAN; (B) SELF-DETERMINATION FOR PUSHTUNS IS
VITAL FOR PEACE; (C) AND (AT LEAST BY IMPLICATION)
GOA HAS RIGHT TO TAKE COUNTER-MEASURES AGAINST
BHUTTO'S DECISIONS ON PAK INTERNAL AFFAIRS HOLD SEEDS
OF DETERIORATION IN PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS THAT COULD
LEAD TO FURTHER INSTABILITY AND EVEN ANOTHER ARMED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ISLAMA 06853 240306Z

CONFLICT IN SOUTH ASIAN REGION. AT THIS TIME, WHEN

SERIOUS EFFORT IS UNDER WAY TO IMPROVE INDO-PAKISTAN-BANGLADESH RELATIONS, SUCH DEVELOPMENT WOULD BE MOST UNFORTUNATE FOR PEOPLES CONCERNED AND FOR US INTERESTS IN AREA.

2. EVEN THE Milder LANGUAGE WHICH DAUD USED IN DESCRIBING PUSHTUN QUESTION JUST AFTER HE TOOK OVER - "COM-PROMISE" AND "HONORABLE SOLUTION" -- HAS DISTURBING IMPLICATIONS FOR AFGHAN-PAK RELATIONS. AFGHAN-PAKISTAN POSITIONS ON PUSHTUNISTAN SEEM DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED. "PEACEFUL" AND "HONORABLE SETTLEMENT" FOR GOP WOULD ENTAIL, AT MINIMUM, TACIT RECOGNITION BY GOA OF DURAND LINE AS INTERNATIONAL BORDER AND GOA REFRAINING FROM ACTIVE ROLE IN TRIBAL AREAS ON PAK SIDE OF LINE. (AS EXCEPTION, TRADITIONAL AFGHAN SUBSIDIES TO TRIBES ARE ACCEPTED AS FACT OF LIFE BY GOP.)

3. GOP, AS IN PAST, WILL TOLERATE RADIO KABUL AND AFGHAN PRESS PROPAGANDA ON PUSHTUNISTAN. BUT AS IN PAST, GOP CAN BE EXPECTED TO PROTEST WHENEVER GOA, AS DISTINCT FROM MEDIA, MAKES PROPRIETARY STATEMENTS OR STRIKES AGGRESSIVE ATTITUDE ON PUSHTUNISTAN. GOP VIEWS GOA PROTEST OVER RECENT BALUCH ARRESTS AS CONSTITUTING INTERFERENCE IN PAK INTERNAL AFFAIRS -- AS IT SIMILARLY REJECTED RGA PROTEST OVER DISMISSAL OF NAP BALUCHISTAN GOVERNMENT IN FEBRUARY. SEVERAL PAKISTAN NEWSPAPERS (INCLUDING INDEPENDENT JOURNALS) AND GOVERNMENT POLITICIANS HAVE ALREADY CRITICIZED RADIO KABUL BROADCASTS ABOUT BALUCH ARRESTS. THE ABOVE IS FRAMEWORK IN WHICH GOP PREPARED TO TREAT PUSHTUNISTAN QUESTION AS PAK-AFGHAN DISPUTE.

4. WE NOTE THAT BHUTTO IN HIS TALK WITH SENATOR PERCY INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS PUSHTUNISTAN QUESTION WITH GOA "BUT IF THEY WANTED MORE, IF THEY ACTIVELY SUPPORT DISSIDENT ELEMENTS IN PAKISTAN, THAT'S ANOTHER PROBLEM." AS DEPARTMENT AWARE, BHUTTO'S STATEMENT GOES BEYOND TRADITIONAL PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT POSITION WHICH DENIES EXISTENCE OF ANY PUSHTUNISTAN QUESTION (AT LEAST IN CONTEXT OF PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS). BUT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ISLAMA 06853 240306Z

BHUTTO LIKE HIS PREDECESSORS CONSIDERS DURAND LINE NON-NEGOTIABLE INTERNATIONAL FRONTIER RECOGNIZED AS SUCH BY WORLD COMMUNITY AT LARGE. BHUTTO DID NOT SPELL OUT WHAT GOP MIGHT DO SHOULD GOA SHIFT, AS DAUD LANGUAGE SUGGESTS, FROM SLOGANS TO SPONSORSHIP OF ACTIONS AGAINST GOP BY TRIBALS OR BY SETTLED PUSHTUNS/BALUCH. GOP WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY REACT SHARPLY IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER.

5. AS WE HAVE REPORTED EARLIER, APPEARS BHUTTO MAY HAVE NOW ADVANCED TIMETABLE OF IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY AIMED AT CURTAILING INFLUENCE OF BALUCH TRIBAL CHIEFS (AND NAP IN FRONTIER ZONES). LONGER-TERM GOAL PROBABLY IS EXTENSION OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT POWER AND CONTROL THROUGHOUT TRIBAL BELT: COURSE WHICH COLLIDES WITH STATED DAUD OBJECTIVES RE PUSHTUNISTAN. WE HOLD NO BRIEF FOR BHUTTO IN HIS USE OF QUESTIONABLE MEANS TO CRUSH HIS POLITICAL OPPOSITION. INDEED, WE HAVE VIEWED WITH CONCERN OVER PAST MONTHS BHUTTO'S INCREASING ADOPTION OF AUTHORITARIAN TACTICS WITH THE SEEMING LOSS OF OPPORTUNITY TO WORK OUT POLITICAL RECONCILIATION WITH NAP OPPONENTS.

6. HOWEVER, FACT IS INITIATIVE FOR ANY DETERIORATION IN PAK-AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY COME FROM GOA NOT GOP. USG LIKE GOP RECOGNIZES DURAND LINE AND WHETHER WE APPROVE OR NOT OF BHUTTO'S POLICIES IN FRONTIER AND BALUCHISTAN PROVINCES THESE FALL WITHIN REALM OF PAK INTERNAL AFFAIRS. AFGHAN CONCERN FOR WELFARE OF PUSHTUNS AND BALUCH, WHICH MAY BE VERY WELL FOUNDED IN RACIAL TIES AND/OR HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS, IS TO BE VIEWED IN THIS CONTEXT.

7. WE NEED NOT AT THIS POINT GO INTO IMPLICATIONS OF TROUBLE BETWEEN AFGHANS AND PAKS WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY LEAD TO ARMED CONFLICT. BUT IT IS PROBABLY PERTINENT TO NOTE THAT SUCH CONFLICT WOULD HAVE POTENTIAL FOR INVOLVEMENT OF THIRD COUNTRIES, INCLUDING USSR WHICH HAS PUT CONSIDERABLE INVESTMENT INTO AFGHANISTAN AND WOULD PRESUMABLY NOT LIKE TO STAND BY PASSIVELY WHILE PAK MILITARY TOOK ON THE INFERIOR AFGHAN FORCES.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ISLAMA 06853 240306Z

8. SEPTTEL WILL DEAL WITH GOP APPROACHES TO US AND EMBASSY COMMENTS.
SOBER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INTERVENTION, PUSHTUNISTAN, RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES, NATIONAL UNIFICATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 AUG 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973ISLAMA06853
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS SOBER
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: ISLAMABAD
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730820/aaaaaouo.tel
Line Count: 158
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: STATE 164400, KABUL 6176, ISLAMABAD, 6543 AND 6655
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 DEC 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12-Dec-2001 by martinml>; APPROVED <01 MAR 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PAKISTAN-AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, PINS, PK, AF, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005